AN ADDRESS BY JOHN HAY.

" BALANCE SHEET OF THE TWO PARTIES." AN ELOQUENT CAMPAIGN SPEECH AT CLEVELAND TAST NIGHT-A STRIKING COMPARISON OF THE REPUBLICAN AND DEMOCRATIC PARTIES.

On the invitation of a large number of citizens, Colonel John Hay delivered the opening speech of the Republican campaign in Northern Ohio, in Cleveland, last night. The following is a full report:

COLONEL HAY'S ADDRESS.

There are many reasons why it should seem an easy matter for the Republican party to carry the elections this year. The party now in control of the National Administration has governed this country honestly and on the whole wisely for twenty years. If we look to the past we see a record of glorious results, such as no other party can boast. The spread of slavery checked, and slavery then abolished: the Nation saved from disunion and dismemberment; an army of 1,000,000 men raised, dismemberment; an army of 1,000,000 men raised, subsisted, and finally disbanded and returning to the peaceful walks or life; the Atlantic and Pacific united by rail; the debt diminished by \$1,000,000,000 and then refunded by a stroke of financial policy through which one-third of our interest charge was saved; resumption of specie payments accomplished, and general prosperity restored to the Nation; and all these objects attained with the most scrupnious adherence to law and constitutional precedents. Of the record of the Democratic party in the last twenty years it is perwith the most scrippilous adherence to law and constitutional precedents. Of the record of the Democratic party in the last twenty years it is berhams enough to say that it has consisted of savage, vindictive opposition, born of blind hate and ignorance, to all these beneficent achievements of the Republicans. They strove to extend slavery while we were trying to check it; they fought to pollute free territory which we were trying to protect from that accursed institution; they were willing to see the Nation destroyed rather than unite with us to save it. They opposed Lincoln and his Cabinet and the Republican Congress in every measure they found necessary for the marshalling of our grand armies and the final extirpation of slavery, the cause and support of the war. When the war ended they made common cause with the unrepentant rebels in opposing every effort made by the Republicans to protect the Union people of the South in their rights; they attacked the public credit by a clamor for repudiation in 1868, by a demand for inflation afterward, and by a furnous opposition to the resumption law of 1875 from the moment of its passage to the day when, under the firm hand of John Sherman, the Republican Secretary of the Treasury, resumption was accomplished without a shock or tremor in the world of commerce. This is the contrasted record of the two parties in the past; on the one hand a history of great powers gloriously used for results of immense significance; on the other, mere sterile, butter, ignorant and unavailing resistance to the march of light and progress. By their fruits ye shall know them. The fruits of the other, the Dead Sea apples of dust and ashes, of partisan rage and bitterness.

Now I am ready to admit that no party can live apon its record: but if we look at the events of the past year we will see, I think, that the relative attiunde of the two parties has not changed in the least in all the vicissitudes of twenty years. The party that was in favor of slavery in 1860, is in favor of bull-dozing and tissue ballots in 1880; the party that lost its hold on the National Government twenty years ago by its blind subservicence to the twenty years ago by its blind subservience to the South, is hoping by the same means to regain power to-day; the party which in 1856 nominated for its last President in Cincinnatia superserviceable tool of the South, has now nominated in the same city a gentleman whom the South accepts as the same sort of willing servant, and Mr. Wade Hampton piedges mm, in the fine old manner we remember so well, 40,000 Democratic majority from a State well, 40,000 Democratic majority Republican mail. 40,000 Democratic majority from a State nich he knows contains an honest Republican ma-ity of 40,000 and the state of t

past, and the advantage we derive from the of the past, and the advantage we derive from the comparison it suggests, let us see what are the common and oromises the two parties present at this hour to the country for its suffrages. The Republicans offer to continue he same general course which has resulted to well. They propose to guard the integrity of the nation and the monor of the flag at home and chroad; they propose to reduce the national burdens by wise and honorable management of the nations innances; they propose to protect those ditizens for whose freedom they are responsible; to oster the industries of the people by judicious

nation's finalices; they propose to protect those citizens for whose freedom they are responsible; to foster the industries of the people by judicious tarifs; to maintain the purity and the freedom of the ballor-box; and, so far as mere sentiment is concerned, to keep alive the ancient patriotism and faith of our fathers, to let it be known that, man for man, a loyal man is better than a traitor, in heart and brain, and deserving.

This is what we are to expect if the Republicans retain the administration of affairs. What we are to look for in case of the success of the Democrats is a matter about which predictions differ. Nobody knows precisely what they will do, but judging from what they have been attempting for the last lew years. I think their purposes and tendencies have been briefly and succinctly summarized by senator Hear, one of the most high-midded and impartial of our public men, who in a few words gives us the Democratic programme as it presents itself to him and to other intelligent observers in Congress:

It represents the degradation of American citizenship, the overthrow of Constitutional government in many Southern states, the attempt to overtural it in Mame, the refusal to provide peaceful and constitutional means for ascertaining the results has enal elections, the desiruction of all subguards against fraud and violence at the polis, the revival of the doctrine of State rights, falsely so-called, the making uties to seats in the Senate and House depend from the mere will of party majorities, the abundance of specie payments, the overthrow of the hatloral bank system, the destruction of the currency and the distribution of the reviving industries of the country by radical enages in the lariff. Who will be the Democratic candidate for the Presidency I do not know; but I know this, that nucleicates of its supporters will be men who have favored and do favor these things, and will seek to accomplish them with an energy of purpose to which any resistance he will be likely to interpose will be a feeble barrier.

This he said before the Democrats had selected their candidate for the Presidency, and certainly the choice they have made affords no guarantee, in It represents the degradation of American citizenship,

their candidate for the Presidency, and certainly the choice they have made affords no guarantee, in his known sentiments, in his capacity, or in his experience, of his being able to resist the pernicious tendencies of his party.

THE REPUBLICANS DESERVE SUCCESS. I repeat, therefore, that there would seem to be many reasons for expecting a decisive and an easy success of the Republican ticket this year. The bad record and character of the one party, and the notable history of great exploits which is secured for the other: the business interests of the country, all embated logically on the side of the party which saved the Nation, first in its life, and then in its credit—the very sentiment of National integrity and honor—would seem enough to decide the contest between these two aspirants to the public of th The Republicans certainly deserve to ction without fighting for it. Why then these elaborate and garden. this election without fighting for it. Why then, do we see these elaborate and earnest preparations making all over the North for a contest which recalls the days of 1860 m its ardor of sincerny and conviction? Why should a party, so strong in its position, in its great history, in its pure administration and its beneficent promise, be compelled to go into the arena to fight for its life with a soiled and bedraggled vagabond of an adversary, who has been defeated again and again, and whose every defeat has been a discrace? What is there, I say, which gives this party of Tweed and Jefferson Dayis another chance for the plunder of this Government? NO CIVIL FREEDOM SOUTH.

The answer is too obvious to dwell upon. It is because, throughout the whole extent of the States lately in rebellion against the national authority. civil freedom has well nigh ceased to exist. The ballot has been stricken down. The right to vote has been trampled in the dust. In those States liberty lies prostrate, under the power of the shotgun and the buil whip. It is for this reason that every Republican of the North must this year fight two adversaries—the Democrat in Georgia or Missispip who votes for himself and a negro or two, and the Democrat in the North who sympathizes with him. Our opponents enter this contest with 138 stolen electoral votes; votes that will not have cost them an effort of legitimate organization nor a word of persuasion. They need not write one article; they need not make one speech; they need not spend the price of a sne-cent postage stamp, nor the time necessary for one Congressman to trank an envelope. Their machinery is now so perfect that even murder, the cheapest of all political methods in the South, will hardly be necessary this year. They can even economize in powder and shot, for they have so utterly killed political life in their regions that they can hardly find a pretext for shooting a Republican voter. The "kiss-joker," was after all, a life saving invention. When you can steal a State with a pocket full of tissne paper, what is the use of the scandal of murder 7 A tew figures will show how completely the freedom of the ballot is at an end in some States of the South. I will take only a few counties as specimens; they gave the following votes in 1876: every Republican of the North must this year fight

Greene County, Alabama...

Walton County, Georgia...

Witkes County Georgia...

East Felicana, Louisiana...

Lowndes County, Mississippi...

Talianatches County, Mississippi...

Yazo County, Mississippi...

Brown County, Texas...

Lastland County...

Lastland County... Chaige County, Ter

this year: "The right to a free ballot is a right preservative of all rights, and must and shall be maintained in every part of the United States." Is this a tardy repentance? There is no other symptom of it. Is it a piece of pure effrontery, the very wantonness of impudence, or is it a coarse joke, uttered with a wink and a grin, in the face of the world? Certainly no such false pretence has ever been put forth by an American party. Its falsehood is written in letters of blood in every election return which has come in recent years from the States where the Democrats have seized control of affairs.

A HUMILIATING CONFESSION. I do not wish to be mistaken. I do not mean that the Republican party is destroyed in all the Southern States. On the contrary its vitality is still something to admire and applaud; and it deserves our most active sympathy and material aid. Even in the midst of the eppession under which they suffer, the Republicans will make in some regions a gallant fight; they will cast more votes in many places than they did four years ago; and will wrest several seats in Congress from the bull-dozers. In one or two States they will cast a majority of votes, but they frankly admit they do not expect them to be counted. This is a humiliating confession for free people to make, but truth compels it to be made. If it were to last forever it would disgrace us all. It would be as infamous to us here in Northern Ohio as to the States where the wrong is pracsomething to admire and applaud; and it deserves ern Ohio as to the States where the wrong is prac-tised. But it will only disgrace us if we submit to it.

It think nothing is to be gained just now by attempting to investigate the origin of this monstrous state of things. The evil exists, and the question is not so much how it came about as how it is to be remedied. It is clear that nothing is to be done by Government interference, for very good reasons. In the first place, we have no force to employ. Our over-worked and ill-treated little army is all employed on the frontier, and even if it were large enough to use for the keeping of the pence in the South, so long as the Democrats have a majority in both houses of Congress it will be impossible, even if it were desirable, to use troops for any such purpose. So the evil must continue for the present without let or hindrance. Constitutional government sometimes has such limitations. You cannot prevent frauds on the suffrace in South Cavolina; you cannot prevent independent candidates from being shot in the back in Mississippi, any more than you can prevent a Texas jury from bringing in a verdict of acquittal when a lively and genial ruffian kills a Northern man. These are evils which can only be reached and cured from a distance. But our system of government is not absolutely powerless to reach them, even from a distance. The ballot is free here, if it is not there. Public opinion is guided by private conscience here, at least, and if in every State in the North the merits of this great issue are made to appear plainly, there will be an end of this barbatism, as soon as the proper constitutional processes can be gone through. Many individual crimes must go forever unwhipt of justice, and even these misguided communities can only be punished at last by bringing them out of their miserable condition of violence and darkness, and making them share with us in peaceful and orderly government.

The remedy rests with the swith us, with I think nothing is to be gained just now by at-

THE REMEDY RESTS WITH THE NORTH. So that, finally, the remedy rests with us, with

the Republicans of the North. We must, and I trust in Heaven we shall, win this one fight in addition to the many which have gone before it, and then perhaps there may be a laying off of battered

dition to the many which have gone before it, and then perhaps there may be a laying off of battered armor, and a period of rest from partisan strife. But not yet can we indule in the luxury of indiference or repose. If the cause of freedom and nationality for which so many thousands of our brethren died was worth their blood and their mothers' tears, it is worth our serious efforts to-day. If there was any moral obligation resting upon good citizens in 1864 to vote for Lincoin rather than McClellan, the same obligation resting upon good citizens in 1864 to vote for Lincoin rather than mow to vote for Gartield, and not for the candidate whose party threaten the destruction of Lincoin's work. A victory this year will confirm the results of twenty years of labor and sacrifice, and we are unworthy of our privileges if we fail to win if.

When we have won this election, the work will never again be so difficult. The Democrats sometimes accuse the Republicans of being in a conspiracy to retain the Government indefinitely. I am inclined to think there is a grain of truth in the story, and I can name some of the parties to the conspiracy. It is a conspiracy between the multiplication table, the almanac, and the Constitution of the United States. It is based on the principle that light will conquer darkness, truth will overcome error, freedom will eternally get the better of slavery. The communities which respect the law will thrive and prosper better than those which habitually violate it. This is the year of the census; the people are being numbered, there will be results from this enumeration which will convince the wayfaring man, though he be a Democratic Congressman, that power in this country must go henceforth with honesty and justice. It will pass forever away from the habitations of cruelty and ignorance. The scopies are being numbered, inhere will be results from this chumeration which will convence the wayfaring out, their high destiny. The South will no longer have the power to control the fair of this nati

our politics cease to be sectional. WHY THE SOUTH IS SOLID.

The South has been made solid by the hope of regaining the control of the Government through the aid of the Democrats of the North. Destroy that endure in the face of the great social and industrial changes now going on. Their politicians will learn that if they want to take part in the serious work of Government they must drop their antiquated habits and methods only suited for a state of of Government they must drop their antiquated habits and methods only suited for a state of slavery, and join with the enterprising and enlightened recode of the North in the pursuit of reasonable objects of legislation and administration. And the people will learn that it is not to their interest to remain forever the tool and the cat's paws of their proud and poor demagogues who have nothing to boast of but the slaves they used to rob and the commissions they have in the rebel army. Let us win this election by a good, decisive, conclusive majority, and no section will profit by it so much as the South. They have a great, rich, magnificent country. They need law and order and a civilized public opinion to insure capital its due protection and labor its just reward. Then the capital will come and the labor will stay. The vast and varied manufactures which they need and can sustain, when they have a little sense beaten into them, will rise like exhalations all over the land, as soon as the outside world is convinced that the right to work and get paid for it, and the right to think and not get shot for it, exists there as it does here. It seems to me that there can be no stupidity so dense as not to understand the lessons when this year's census will cry aloud to those misguided people. Why are the distant wildernesses of Minnesota and lowa made to blossom as the rose under the busy ands of strong, honest and thrifty which this year's census will cry about a close and epople. Why are the distant wildernesses of Minnesota and Iowa made to blossom as the rose under the busy lands of strong, honest and thrifty immigrants, while the rich fields of Mississippi and Alabama he barren and deserted under the bright Southern sun? Why is every brook and river this side of the Ohio tormented by the ungenious hands of skilled labor, to contribute what power it was have to mechanical enterprises while the may have to mechanical enterprises while streams of the South gush from their mountains sport down to the sea as idle and useless as the sport down to the sea as die and uscless as the one-haired chivalry who are too proud and too lazy to do anything but hunt and lish and light along their banks? It is because capital will not trust itself where law is despised; because labor cannot thrive where it is not honored. No part of the country more needs the benefits of Kepublican government than this same blind and prejudiced South. The protection we offer to their industries; the stability we issure to their currency; the fosthe stability we insure to their currency; the fos-tering care we, as a party, have given to agricul-jure; the great lines of inter-oceanic communica-tion which we have initiated and carried through tion which we have time and assistance which is the national support and assistance which is been our traditional policy to give to the im-ment of rivers and harbors;—all these consider, must commend themselves to the minds of h must commend Lemselves to the minds of intelligent Southerners when they come to understand the things that belong to their peace. This they will begin to learn so soon as we have leaten down once more this corrupt and corrupting Democratic party of the North, and the next apportionment shall have demonstrated the fact that a new balance of power is revealed in the Northwest, and that the sectional conflict is ended by the death of slavery and the laying of its ghost.

WAR MEMORIES AND POLITICAL CRIMES. Nobody wishes to dwell on the painful memorie of the war, and if our adversaries would only permit us to forget the misery and the woe which ought to have ended in 1865, we should take infinite pleasare in discussing with them subjects of more immediate interest and practical concern. But blood diate interest and practical concern. But blood freshly shed will cry from the ground; and when a community is being stranged it is likely to squeal; and all these things keep the history of the Rebei-

community is being strangied it is likely to squeal; and all these things keep the history of the Rebellion continually in mind. Even if we drop these unpleasant subjects, however, and confine ourselves to the claims of the two parties to the suffrages of the country upon their economic and administrative merits, the Democratic party will fare as badly in a comparison with the Republican as if the standard was that of loyalty.

To my mind, I admit, the greater issue so dwarfs the less, that I believe the Democratic party disqualified from regaining the confidence of the people of this country by its unatoned crimes. Even if it contained within its ranks, which it certainly does not, better lawyers, better administrators, better statesment han we can show, I would still feel that the Government should not be given into hands stained crimson with the blood of citizens. There ought to be no question of the fitness of these men. They ought to feel that they are important to be a present the search constraint as sentences of these men. They ought to feel that they are important to be sentenced.

the way the business ought to be run, and I tried to cut his throat. We had a fight, and he kicked me out at last, but not before I had destroyed several thousand million dollars of property, and killed about half a million of his family." And to make the analogy perfect, the murderous tramp ought to say in conclusion. "And now, as I come to look at you, you are the same man I had the fight with: but I am willing to forgive and forget—so give me your keys, and say no more about it. I can run this business better than you can."

Is not this the attitude of the men who control the Democratic party to-day I

THE GUARANTEE OF REPUBLICAN HISTORY. But coming down to the practical question, let us see which of these parties has shown the greatest business capacity, and which offers the best guarantee for further successful service. For twenty years the Republicans have had the executive control of affairs, and are, to a great extent, responsible for the stewardship of this vast estate during that time. For more than twenty years before that the Democrats controlled this country. Eighteen hundred and sixty was like 1880, a year of peace and prosperity. It is fair, therefore, to compare the general situation of the country, in a financial and commercial point of view, at the time when the Democrats left power with the situation to-day, after twenty years of Republican rule. If the nation has not retrograded the party in power has not prevened its growth and health. If it has gone steadily forward, the party in power is entitled to some credit for having assisted its progress, and if it has made great and extraordinary advances, the party under whose rule those advances have been made is entitled to the gratitude and the confidence of the people. What are the facts? The following table will show them: the Republicans have had the executive control of

	1860.	1880.	Inc per c
Population Wheat produced, bush. Wheat exported, bush. Corn produced, bush. Corn exported, bush. Corn exported, bush. Wool produced, bush. Wool produced, bush. Petroleum produced, obls. Iron produced, tons. Rails produced, tons. Hogs packed. Rutter exported, B. Cheese exported, B. Merchandise imports. Merchandise exports Gold and silver produced. Gold and silver produced. Gold and silver produced. Gold and silver produced.	205,038 2,350,822 7,640,914 15,515,749 9336,292,485 \$316,242,423 846,150,000 \$57,996,104	100,000,000 282,500,000 5,675,000 19,741,661 8,070,875 1,118,273 6,450,451 36,248,015 141,654,874 8670,000,000 \$335,000,000 \$79,711,990	55 154 4111 72 2917 285 284 442 195 400 818 99 164 79

In one word, we never before produced so much iron, so much cotton, so much wheat, so much coro, so much petroleum, as during this past year. We never made so many manufactured articles; we never sold so many to other countries; we never bought so many from other countries; and yet so vast is the increase of our production, that we still have a heavy balance of trade in our favor. This is the prosperity that comes from wise and good national housekeeping, where we can afford to buy more than we ever did before, and not only pay for it with our own productions but have a handsone sum in cash to the good beside. The Republican party has so managed the business of this country as to bring about not only a vast increase of production in every department of human activity but an enormous increase in the permanent wealth of the nation. Under Democratic rule, it took all our specie and something over, to meet the excess of our imports over our experts. Now, after twenty years of Kepublican administration, we keep all our vastly-increased production of the precious metals; and have called on Europe beside for over \$75,000,000 in the eleven months preceding the list of June, to pay for the excess of goods which we have sent over the water. We are not only doing this vast volume of business, but we are making a pront and laving up wealth at the rate of about \$155,000,000 a year.

What does this prove! That not only has the

What does this prove? That not only has the Republican party administered the material interests of this country wisely and well, but that the ideas and policy of the Democratic party were a positive hindrance and obstacle to prosperity. Any intelligent and candid man onable to see that this amazing development of the country under Republican rule is due to great part to the practice of Republican princeples. It is due to the change in the policy of the Government in regard to the great matters of national concern, the tariff, internal taxation, the fostering care the Government has shown toward manufactures; the more honest and systematic collection and management of the revenue; and more than all this, is it due to the strong and irresistible rise of the national prosperity and spirit, through the abolition of slavery, the maintenance of the manencal hone of the country, and the final defeat of the spirit of disminon. Who can truthfully deny that all this is the work of the Republican party, and that at every step of this great work they had to stand like the builders of Judea, building up the national prosperity with one hand, and fighting the Democratic party with the other? What does this prove? That not only has the

the moment resumption was accomplished, through the honor and the courage of this Reomolican administration, this astonishing improvement in the mercantile world began. The first half of 1879 showed a lessened loss by bad debts of fully one-half over the first half of 1878, the year before resumption. But to the amazement of the most sanguine, the result this year shows that even that enormous ratio of improvement is tully sustained; for the liabilities of the last half year are only \$33,000,000 as compared with \$55,000,000 in 1878, and \$130,000,000 in 1878-one-quarter what they were in the year before resumption, when the Democratic party were moving heaven and earth to prevent the Republicans from accomplishing it, and prophesying widespread ruin if it was carried through.

Now in view of this showing which speaks to the understanding and to the interests of every working man and every business man in this country, the overline areas.

to the understanding and to the interests of every working man and every business man in this country the question arises: At eversick of all this property? Do we wish to go back to the low wages, the small profits, the constant excess of debt over credit, the constant unfavorable balance of trade which we had under a Democratic administration? Have we had enough of this liberal employment of these profits of manufacturers in which the workingmen participate, of these comfortable homes, of these thriving farms? Do we wish to turn back this tide of immigration which is coming nomes, of these thriving farms? Do we wish to turn back this tide of immigration which is coming to our shores in greater numbers and of a better class than we have ever seen before? There were 177,000 immigrants landed at the port of New York during the six months ending with July; and are we ready to say to them and to their friends who hope to follow that we are contemplating a change of ready to say to them and to the to follow that we are contemplating a change policy which, the best you can say of it, will donotful in its effects upon public prosperity?

THE DEMOCRATS SHALLOW PRETENCE OF ECONOMY. I know in the piatforms and speeches of the Democrats they put forward a pretence of economy, of retrenchment and reform, but nowhere can they show you the facts and figures to justify this pretence. It is true that they have been vigorously attempting for the last few years to pullify the laws by which our marshals are paid and to starve the courts into closing their doors; their reason for this being that their sensibilities have been outraged because the Republican marshals and their deputies do not seem disposed to allow earnest and sincere Democrats to vote more than once, and where they are not citizens do not allow them to vote at all. Several of the United States marshals have been borrowing money at 2 persons a marshals attempting for the last few years to nullify the have been borrowing money at 2 per cent a month in some of our Western States and Territories to in some of our western states and tentorises there their course open and to prevent the course of justice from being blocked by the mulish obstinacy of this Democratic Congress. The Marshal of Dakota has been paying interest at the rate of 18 per cent on the money with which he was running the courts. The Marshal of lowa has advanced \$10,000, and then in a fit of perfectly justifications he added that the courts might be advanced \$10,000, and then in a fit of perfectly justifiable disgust he asked that the courts might be adjourned. In Maine the Marshal has lent the Government \$7,800, and the United States Circuit Judge, in anger and shame, says that he will not ask him to increase this amount by another cent. In New-Hampshire the court has been closed, and in many other States the Government of the United States is placed in the degrading position of owing money to its own officers which Congress will not allow it to pay. For such economy as this they are entitled to all the credit which belongs to it, but so far as their claim is concerned of having reduced public their claim is concerned of having reduced public expenditures it is as false and fraudulent as any

expenditures it is as false and fraudulent as any other claim which they make upon the public favor. During the last five years in which the Republicans controlled both branches of Congress, the annual expenditures of the Government were reduced from \$292,177.188 to \$258,450,797, a saving of about \$34,000,000 a year. In the new and ignorant zeal with which the Democrats came into power working for a party cry rather than for the interests of the country, they slashed at the appropriations so as to make an apparent saving of some \$20,000,000. They made the most of this in their newspapers and on the stump, and perhaps people

both branches of Congress. Every bureau of Congress has been filled with a hungry pack of the sons and consus and dependents of Confederate members of Congress, and the public money has been laysined open them without shame or reserve. During these same last five years in which the Republican party controlled the Government they reduced the duties on imports to the amount of \$31,000,000. The Democrats, while pretending to be in favor of free trade, have made no reductions whatever. They have reduced the income from internal revenue, and this is perhaps the most characteristic thing they have done. If there is anything dear to the heart of a Southern Democratic statesman it is whiskey and tobacco, and the only great financial measure which they have proposed and carried through the houses of Congress since they obtained control of them has been the depriving of the United States Government of \$11,000,000 a year, which was formerly raised upon these two articles of prime Democratic consumption. This is the only thing they have to offset the reduction, made by the Republicans during their last five years of control, of \$89,000,000, which was taken from almost every form of industry in the country. That is the sort of balance sheet which the two parties strike—the Democratic have reduced taxation to the amount of \$11,032,000, almost whonly in the interest of to bacco-chewers and whiskey-drinkers; the Republican party, in five years, reduced taxation in all to both branches of Congress. Every bureau of Con-

nothing; it has been overwhelmed by the responsibilities of legislation. No session since the Government was formed has so little to show in the way of results for the time expended, as the session which has just closed. Matters about which everybody is igreed could not get through Congress. Important public business failed because the time was needed for partisan harangues and personal explanations. If one honorable gentleman called another a light revolved the loss of a day or two. They public business failed because the time was needed for partisan harangnes and personal explanations. If one honorable gentleman called another a liar it involved the loss of a day or two. They would hurry through a bill for spending millions of dollars in five minutes, and then wrangle all day to find out whether a motion to strike out two words was in order. Not only did they fail to accomplish the proper and necessary work for which they were sent there, but they also failed ignominiously in most of their attempted rascalities. They could not steal senator Kelloug's seat though they tried their worst for months. They arranged to put back Firz John Porter into the Army and to pay him \$75.000 for having fought at Bull R in on Democratic principles, but they got frightened out of it in the course of debate, and dropped it until next winter. They perfected a conspiracy to rob a Minnesota district of its Representative, employing for that purpose an ingenious combination of bribery, perjury and anonymous letters, and at the end of it all Mr. Washbarn remains in his seat, and every Democratin the affair needs a bath of chloride of lime before he can appear in public acaim. Even their favorite scheme to steal the Presidency by concurrent resolution of the two houses they were unable to pass, from sheer lack of parliamentary knowledge. There has never been a more remarkable instance of a providential dispensation—that this, the worst-intentioned Congress that ever sat in Washington, should be also the most incapable; the most enady to do wrong, and the most impatent to follow its own evil impulses. One reason for this was, perhaps, that they knew no very outrageous scheme could ever have become a law, as it would require not only a majority of both houses, but also the concurrence of a brave, conscientious and intelligent gentleman at the other end of the Avenne, a President who knows the right and dares main than it. We know from what vicious legislation his timely vetoes have saved us—we will never know how much of

THE ATTITUDE OF THE TWO PARTIES. It remains to consider briefly the attitude of the two parties as exhibited in their Conventions and their candidates.

bublican principles. It is due to the change in the policy of the Government in regard to the grant of the gr both men who deserve and enjoy the love and esteem of their friends. Between now and November they will both be charged with plenty of petty little infamies, but nobody will believe a word of it all. The Democrats know that General Gartield is an able, pairiotic and honest man, of great capicity, unsulted coaracter and blameless life. The Republicans know that General Hancock is a gallant solder and an accombished gentleman. Both of them have private characters without stain; both have reneared signal services to the Republic. All the mid that can be thrown at them will defile only the hands that throw it. GENERAL GARFIELD'S SPLENDID RECORD.

But when we come to talk of them as candidates for the Presidency there is a vast difference tetween them, and we claim that the advantage is all on our side. We present to the people for their sufon our side. We present to the people for their suf-frages one of themselves. Although grifted with great powers of mind and elevation of character which have litted him in place above the rest of us, General Garfield is still one of the people in feeling, in sympathy, as well as is origin. He was born in an obscure village of Onio in the hamblest sur-roundings. Not one of us ever battled more per-sistently in boynood against adverse circumstances. From a child he was mured to labor. He ate his bread in the sweat of his brow. Had it not been for the unconquerable soul within him he might have been to-day a day laborer on your streets, for all that fortune has done for him. He thirsted for knowledge as a hart for the water brooks. After have been to-day a day laborer on your streets, for all that fortune has done for him. He thirsted for knowledge as a hart for the water brooks. After laborious days he stole hours from sleep and spent them with his books. Almost before he ceased to be a mechanical laborer he had become a scholar. His merits marked him for a leader as soon as he was out of school. His fellow-citizens sent him to represent them in the Onto Senate—the youngest man in that body. When the war came, the man of books left his study and took up arms; the young men who knew and honored him gathered about him; he became at once coloner of a noble regiment, the famous 42d Onio, and soon commanded a bigade. He served with not only credit but high distinction, and became a of a noble regiment, the famous 42d Odolo and soon commanded a brigade. He served with not only credit but high distinction, and became a Major-General by sheer deserving, and then the people of his district needing him in Congress, elected him to that service, where he was to win the highest honors attainable to the citizen. Not one step in all this upward progress had been won by linck or favor; and now he was to enter a field in which no favor was possible. The man who becomes the leader of his party on the floor of Congress must be to all intents and purposes the strongest man in his party, and when Mr. Braine—that peer less, born chieftain—went to the Senate there was no one to dispute for a moment the claim of General Garffield to the leadership of the House. Here he remained, firsting always on the right side, the side of honesty in finance, the side of layality in National affairs, the side of human rights and of law and order, always, like Sand, a head and shoulders above his fellows, until the Republication. and of law and order, always, like Sani, a head and shoulders above his fellows, until the Republican party of Ohio unanimously promoted him to the Secare, and the Republican party of the Nation unanimously claimed nim for resident. It is one of the most striking instances in our political history of the steady, legitimate growth and development of a citizen and a statesman. It is of men like this that the founders of the Constitution expected and intended that Presidents should be made.

The MEANING OF GENERAL BANCOCK'S NOMINATION.

THE MEANING OF GENERAL HANCOCK'S NOMINATION. Now, when we come to consider the candidacy of General Hancock, we are at once met by an anomaly which needs explanation. What reason is there that a convention dominated by the Solid South, full of men who had fought against us, should have chosen as their candidate a gentleman known only

Orleans to execute the personal wishes of that eccentric President in the administration of the States of Louisiana and Texas, and to do what no could in obedience to the known prejudices of the President to nullify within his jurisdiction the acts of a Republican Congress. General Ord and General Canby and General Phil Sheridan were not found to be available timber for work of this sort, but General Hancock immediately justified the sagacity of the President who chose him for this service by issuing a series of Democratic circulars under the guise of general orders, informing the rebel leaders of those States that, so far as he was concerned, they might do just about as they pleased without fear of interference from the military authorities. PLACING HIS SWORD AT MR. TILDEN'S DISPOSAL.

This of course constitutes a strong claim up on the

Democratic party of the North and upon the con-

solidated States of the South. But this, it appears,

was not enough; and here I enter upon a subject which seems to me one of the gravest which have ever been submitted to the judgment of the American people at a Presidential election. It is a matter which involves the very structure of the Government, being the first instance in our history where the sword has presumed to usure the functions of which involves the very structure of the Government, being the first instance in our history where the sword has presumed to usure the functions of the Legislature and the judiciary. Shortly after the nominations were made at Cincinnati it began to be rumored that the influences which were brought to bear upon the Southern delegates to solidify them for Hancock were of a very peculiar nature. It was asserted that Senator Eaton, of Connecticut, had given out that at the time the result of the last Presidential election was disputed and in doubt, and while the subject of the Constitutional method of counting the electoral vote was under discussion in Congress, General Hancock wrote a letter to General Sherman announcing that in case the President of the Senate should declare Mr. Hayes elected and the House of Representatives should differ in opinion, he had made up his mind to disregard the announcement of the President of the Senate, and in case the House of Representatives should declare Mr. Tilden President, he would take that declaration as his rule of conduct, and would place his sword and his command at the disposition of Mr. Tilden. This story seemed too incredible for belief. It outraged every tradition of the Republic. It was referred to for some days merely as a dark rumor. At last Mr. Atkins, a Democratic delegate to the Cincinnati Convention from Vermont, declared that the story was true, that it was greatly to the credit of General Hancock, and that it contributed powerfully to his nomination at Cincinnati. He gave as his anthority for the story, General W. F. Smith. General Smith was immediately asked as to the truth of it, and he confirmed it in every particular and undestatingly justified the conduct of General Hancock. On being asked whether it is true or not, declines to answer, and says if General Sherman has any such letter and wishes to publish any correspondence between himself and General Hancock on this subject. In that attitude of the case the matter must be taken as admitted and confesse

demend by himself. We have a right, sherefore, to assume that the story is true.

I imagine the people of this part of the country will think twice before they vote to place in the office of Chief Magistrate of this Nation a man who can have been capable of such an act as this—an act which shows his utter incapacity to appreciate the very nature of Republican constitutional govern-ment. There are countries, we know, where it is which shows his litter incapacity to appreciate very nature of Republican constitutional government. There are countries, we know, where it is the fashion for Major-Generals to declare who shall be and who have been elected President, but the fashion has never yet taken root in the soil of Anglo-Saxon communities, and we are not inclined to cultivate it. We keep Congresses at great expense to make our laws, and Courts to interpret them, and no Major-General, however handsome and gallant he may be, can have the function in this day and generation to decide contested points of Constitutional law, at the invitation of a party cancus or his own caprice. We have some dozen general officers in our Army, and if they should each take it into their heads next fail, tollowing the example of General Hancock, to declare some different friend and fellow-citizen elected, it might be a cause of inconvenience. General Hancock might not object—because he could declare his own election—but I am very sure that General Garfield and General Hayes and the general public would not approve.

A RISK THE COUNTRY CANNOT AFFORD TO RUN.

salutary. Let the Democratic party follow once their better impulses and put their better elements has been in charge of the Ponca Agency only since April

practical sense to let well enough alone. They are in the enjoyment of peace, freedom and prosperity, except in a few States of the South, and they do not except in a few States of the South, and they do not wish to adopt the principles or practices of those States. Their finances are in admirable condition; they do not wish them disturbed and unsertied. Their civil service was never so honest and effluent as now; they do not wish it exposed to a rush of hungry and untried office-seekers. Their revenue system brings in a million a day; they do not want it tinkered by Congress. Their debt is being daily reduced; they do not want its reduction stopped or its ultimate payment thrown in doubt. Their Government is substantially in the hands of the men who have always been true to it; they do not wish to see it given over to the men who tried for years to destroy it.

There is the issue and it cannot be avoided by There is the issue and it cannot be avoided by such flimsy devices as the nomination of a Union soldier here and there. A candidate may easily be worse than his party; he cannot possibly be better. He must represent its record, not his own; he must carry out its policy, and not his own. Fortunately we have a man of the first rank as a patriot and statesman to carry our sanner, but the banner it self is the sacred thing. General Garbeld represents an unbroken tradition of loyalty and good government. The gallant face of General Hancock is a misk behind which the treasons, defeats and hostilities of a generation hide. THE DECOY-SOLDIER GAME WILL NOT WORK.

It is not the first time this game of decoy-soldier has been tried. In 1864, when the world was fremuons with the shock of the contest which was to determine whether this Nation should live or die, a Democratic Convention met in Chicago, sofemnly

Democratic Convention met in Chicago, solemnly declared that the war was a failure, and nominated for President a Union soldier, or far greater fame and popularity than the one they now offer w. The people, undazzled by his uniform, chose again for their ruler the plain citizen in whose hourst hands they felt the Nation was safe. Only last year, the Democracy of Olio neumated for Governor the handsomest and most cloquent solder they could find, and placed on the taket with him another excellent General, maimed on the field of battle. Everything was in General Ewing's favor, except his principles and the party behind him; but the people took up a country merchant from Fostoria, and with him beat General Ewing out of his cavarry boots. oots. We send this bit of history, and its moral with our indest regards, to General Hancock, on Governor's dand. We hope he will not resign. We can beat

Island. We hope he will not resign. We can be a lime asser if he retains his commission, and he deserves more than that for Gettysburg. We will put General Garfield, who is an able statesman, into the Presidency, a place for which he is fitted, and we will leave General Hancock, who is a brave soldier, will leave General Hancock, who is a brave soldier, will leave General Hancock who is a brave soldier, Il preside over the Senate with dignity and abil and Mr. English will manage his bank, as here totors, with assiduity and thrift; and everybody wilfbe suited. A WORD TO THE YOUNG MEN.

In concluding I have one word to say to the young men of this State-to those who are just beginning heir civic life, who are just casting their first vote a National election. Many of you are Democrats through some accident of association, without having maturely weighed the history and the princithrough some accident of the principles of the two parties. I ask you to look back for twenty years and see upon which side the continual honor and glory lie. Which party elected Abraham Emeoin? Which party opposed, vilhed and finally killed him? Which party freed the slaves? Which built the Pacific Rulroad? Which saved the Union and the honor of the flag? Which saved the Union and the honor of the flag? Which saved the financial integrity of the Nation, and made its credit the best in the world? If it be right to regard with pride the fulfilment of your duties as citizens, look around you and see who connity upon their economic and administrative ments, the Democratio party will fare as badly in a comparison with the Republican as if the standard was that of loyalty and the Republican as if the standard was that of loyalty and the Republican as if the standard was that of loyalty and the Republican as if the standard was that of loyalty and the Republican as if the standard was that of loyalty and the Republican as if the standard was that of loyalty and the Republican as if the standard was that of loyalty and the Republican as if the standard was that of loyalty and the Republican as if the standard was that of loyalty and the Republican as if the standard was that the Government standard the standard was that the Government standard the proposed of this country by its unatoned crimes. Even if it contained within its ranks, which it certains for some policy standard that the Government should not be given into lands stained crims on with the blood of the three sould be taken as the standard was thrown the Republican state. It is was merely the copyed with the Republican standard the principle mobile crime in the warf if its not often that a party decided Abra-dout \$4.0,000,000 a year. In the new and important the Republican standard the principles of the weight of the continues of the country, as a swing of a septiment and stocked the function of the ment was the warf if it so not often that a party decided Abra-dout \$4.0,000,000 a year. In the new and important the warf if it so not often that a party decided the hundred for the formation of the standard the secondary in the secondary of the secondary of the secondary of the secondary in the secondary of some proposed, which it certain methal the party freed the slaves for the ment of the warf it is not often that a party decided Abra-dout standard the formation of the secondary in the secondary in the secondary in the secondary in the ment of the secondary in the second

bonest brow proudly to the broadening dawn—why should young men choose to east in their lot with a discredited and soiled record; with a party which only asks of the present, the prunder of office, and of history, only oblivion? With what nobis thought, with what high enterprise, has that party been associated in the last quarter of a century t. What purpose but that of blind obstruction has it served? I firmly believe that it has no space left it for repentance. Its pace is fixed in history. If forms the dark background upon which the deeds of valor and of wisdom of Republican worthies stand out in burning lines of light. It is written and can never be forgotten, that in the long contest by which the Nation was saved, a race enfranchised, the National honor sustained and heightened, this Democratic party, as a party, despite the heroism and loyaity of individuals, stood by in sullen obstruction, refusing alike the labor and the glory.

This is no fit fellowshin for brave and magnanimens youth. If you wish to cast a vote you will be proud of when you are old, if you wish to take part in the sympathies and the memories of a great era on the side of light and liberty and progress, you will never have a better chance than now. The National glory and the National welfare have been in Republican keeping for twenty years, with the results you see. In the ranks of that party are edited the greater portion of the virtue and intelligence of the land, while its counsels are hallowed by the traditions of the patriots and martyrs of the great was. Its past is luminous with the story of beneficent achievements; its future is as bright with promise as the radiance of the morning stars.

**LETTERS FROM THE PEOPLE*.

LETTERS FROM THE PEOPLE.

CHARGING DOUBLE PRICE FOR THE SUNDAY TRIBUNE. To the Editor of The Tribune.

Sin: The Sunday papers are more thoroughly read than those of any other day of the week, and I believe that double the number of people would procure them and read them if they were not quite so expensive. If the price charged here (which is 10 cents) is in accordance with your instructions, I have nothing to say. But if that is not the case, then you owe it to yourself and the community to have the matter made right as soon as possible.

Foughkeepsie. N. F., July 24, 1880.

[The paper ought to be sold for 5 cents, and we can see no good reason why it should not be. There is a way of relieving yourself from the 10-cent imposition of the newsdealers, which all country readers of THE SUNDAY TRIBUNE can adopt. Simply send an order for the Sunday issue for six months or a year, to be forwarded by mail. In most places near New-York there is a Sunday mail which will deliver the paper about as promptly as the news dealers could.—Ed.]

WHERE SHALL THE OBELISK STAND! AN ARGUMENT IN FAVOR OF THE SCHOLARS' GATS PLAZA.

To the Editor of The Tribune.

SIR: The site selected for the Alexandrian Obensk, on the "natural knoll," near the Metropolitan Art Museum, Central Park, because there is "readymade rock there to set it on," is indeed " an impotent conclusion to a splendid project."

Its proximity to the Beivedere, erested on the highest park elevation, and the focal point in the vistas and plantations of the park plan, will tend to dwarf the obelisk. Who does not know that the Obelish of Luxor, in the Piace de la Concorde, and the Commu, in the Piace Vendome, are in better position than they would be placed in the Bots de Boulogoe !

placed in the Bois de Boulogue!

The Neison monument, in Trafalgar-square, and that of the Duke of York, in Waterloo-place, are imposing in effect, as they are properly placed in open, level spaces in the city, as are also the numerous obelisks in Rome and our own monument to General Worth. Such a bostton awaits the Obelisk in the plata at Fity-hinthest, incing the Scholars Gate, the principal park entrance from one of the finest avenues in the world.

The objection that it is "made ground" as easily overcome, as rock will be found near the natural surface to support the required foundation. The chace of our Endish cousins is rot to be admired in placing their obelisk on the Thannes Embankment, which is all on "made ground," and the two columns on St. Mark's Plaza, Venice, orought from Syria nearly elgal centuries ago, still stand firmly, although their bases are washed by the Adriate, which once flooded the lagous of Venice. Respectfully, Chong M. Van Nort.

New Fork Club, New Tork, July 27, 1850.

THE SHOOTING OF A PONCA CHIEF.

To the Editor of The Tribune. Sin: In your editorial in to-day's issue concerning the Ponca Indians you say that a considerable amount of the Government money has been expended to build a handsome residence for Agent Whiting; also that a cutef was recently shot by order of the present

agent. This statement does Colonel Whiting injustice. He has been in charge of the Ponca Agency only since April last. The chief spoken of was probably shot without any cause, but it was under the management of Colonel Whitman, the hite agent, who was removed from office on charges preferred by the clerk.

Walle great injustice has doubtless been done the Poncas and while sume of them may be "utterly broken spirited and hopeces," private arrives from the agency snow unistakably that the picture of utter we, drawn by the philanthropists, is not true. Substantial progress has been made, and I greatly doubt it the Poncas would be materially benefited by a return, at this late day, to their old reservation, from which, unfortunately, they were forcebly removed.

Trenton, N. J., July 26, 1880.

A REMARKABLE COINCIDENCE. To the Editor of The Tribune.

SIR: Last week I called your attention to the fact that I had not yet received the 15 per cont divdend, due to me on February last as a policy holder to the Continental Life Insurance Company. To-day I re ceived the check for that dividend from John P. O'Neill, receiver of said company, and it is only just that I should so inform you.

Should so Inform you.

Whether my communication to THE TRIBUNE, and the reception of the check to-day, stand in the relation of cause and effect I leave you to judge. It is sufficient for me to state the simple fact toat, although nearly five months had clapsed since I first notified Receiver O'Nell that no check had been received by me, and although frepeatedly called his attention to the matter, the desired effect was only produced after I sent my communication to you. Under the circomstance I cannot help techniq under considerable obligation to The FRIBUNE. Statewell yours, S. J. STEWART. THE PRIBUNE. Statestely vours, Fitchburg, Mass., July 27, 1880.

A FARMER'S ADVICE ABOUT GARBAGE. to the Editor of The Tribune.

SIR: As the garbage question is giving so mucu trouble, allow me to say that the present mode of disposing of the garbage of this city is a great waste of valuable fertilizers, that should be turned to good account. Allow me to suggest that men of means take hold of the question and transport this waste matter to some convenient place, where it can be sifted, sorted and finered and composted into very valuable manure. The land can ill afford to give the sea so much of wealth. The land is being impoverished nitogether too fast at best, and the time is already at band when every waste sest, and the time is aircady at hard when every wasted to rillizers should be stopped. The prairie farmer ormerly burned his straw, believing tout the rich almost soil would yield its rolden harvests forever, but out sentiment has changed and the wise farmer can had a more profitable use for the straw and refuse of his New-York, July 29, 1880.

PER LS OF THE BROADWAY STAGE.

To the Editor of The Tribune. Sig: I was truly glad to see the article concerning the dangling muddy feet of the ou side pasconcerning the dangling muddy feet of the on side passenior of the Broadway stage. This is an abuse this I
have long suffered from. Then the driver sometimes
expect.rates tobacco jaico and the wind drives it in
mon the unincky faces nearest the window. Then to
add one more grievance, some of the drivers seem to
take a malicious pleasure in shufting the door violently
just as the last foot of the entering passenger is in a position to be caught and brussed. Plave twice been renere dquite lame by this treatment.

New York, July 30, 1880.

PLAYING SCHOOL IN A POWDER HOUSE. To the Editor of The Tribune.

SIR: The children of Harlem during vacaion evidently miss the usual "class blowing up" by their teacher, as a number of them make a common practice of praying school in an old barn standing in One-numbred and thirty-third-st., near Fourth-ave., in which is stored a large quantity of guapowder. Some day sone of the scholars will get a little too "techy" and perhaps fire the mine. Please have a reporter of hand. Respectably, New York, July 29, 1880.

ENFORCING THE SILVER LAW.

To the Editor of The Tribune. SIR: To-day's TRIBUNE speaks of the accumulation of silver at Sau Francisco, and the cost of transporting it East. Mention has also been made of the need of room available for storing silver at the Treasury. It seems to me that if the silver law were enforced by "willing servants" such cost and accumulation would be obviated.

New York, July 28, 1880.

CASHIER.

THE STEAM-TUG WHISTLE NUISANCE,

To the Editor of the Trioune. Sin: Has any special privilege been granted by the City of New York to one or two steam-tings whose phots make night hideous by making their waistles prac-Lice the chromatic scales ! Have quiet people, mother and invalids no rights which these overgrows boys are bonn. to respect R spectfully yours, ORDER.

ORDER.

THE RULE OF THE SERVICE.—(Evening after the abate in the Lard, on athieues for officers.)—Lating Sub-liern; "Ou, I sat—what does the Lords mean by pay-leaf education of officers! The pwoper wife is, lock to the men for muscle, and to us for bwains!"—(Funny Folks.